



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

WHERE ARE THE TEN TRIBES?

I.

BIBLE, TALMUD, AND MIDRASHIC LITERATURE.

THE union of the twelve tribes of the House of Jacob, the result of David's conquests and his centralisation of civil government and religious worship in Jerusalem, did not last long. Although Solomon continued the policy of his father by building the great Temple, he unwisely tolerated the cults of Egypt, Moab and Sidon ; and consequently the ancient importance of Shiloh, Beth-El, Beer-Sheba, and other places of worship still remained. Ephraim, or the House of Joseph, which would not resign its supremacy to Saul, the son of the little tribe of Benjamin, submitted to the great king, a scion of the rising tribe of Judah, and to his wise son, so long as a centralising policy rendered him powerful. But as soon as he introduced foreign elements by his marriages, intrigues naturally arose, for the jealousy between the northern tribes and their southern masters was by no means yet extinguished. Jeroboam, the Governor of the house of Joseph, and himself an Ephraimite,¹ seized the opportunity, when Solomon was threatened by the Midianites and by the Amorites, to revolt against his master. The prophet of Shiloh, no doubt dissatisfied with the supersession of Shiloh, the place of his birth or adoption, by Jerusalem, encouraged the rebel to take in hand the work of the disruption of the two nations, which were still separated by the names of Judah and Israel. Ahijah, as the prophet of Shiloh was called, venerated David who made the house of Jacob great, but he would certainly claim some independence for the north.

Jeroboam was not successful during Solomon's reign, but he accomplished his work under Rehoboam. The latter had entirely destroyed the prestige enjoyed by David, already weakened as it was by the loss of territory during the last days of Solomon. Ephraim established its supremacy over

¹ II Kings xi. 26.

the northern tribes, they having their own capital in Shechem, and later in Samaria, and introduced a separate cult in Dan and Beth-El, where *Jhwh* was worshipped under the form of a calf. By no manner of effort, neither by political danger, nor by the threatenings of the great prophets, could the two nations be re-united. Then, as in our time, religious differences had more influence in keeping apart than common political danger in uniting. What happened to Israel on the one hand, and to Judah on the other until Tiglath-Pileser succeeded in making the first breach in the Kingdom of Israel, is well known from the Bible:¹ "In the days of Pekah, king of Israel, came Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, and took Ijon and Abel-beth-Maachah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali, and carried them captive to Assyria." According to the book of Chronicles,² this Assyrian king, who is rightly called there Pul (Phul) "carried away the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half of Manasseh, and brought them into Halah, and Habor, and Hara, and to the River Gozan unto this day." It is evident that the chronicler has amalgamated two documents, for the transportation of a part of the Israelites into the above-mentioned places was effected twenty years later, under Sargon, after the capture of Samaria. To this effect is the following passage from the book of Kings:³ "In the ninth year of Hoshea the king of Assyria took Samaria, and carried Israel away into Assyria and placed them in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes." The identification of these lands, rivers, and towns we shall discuss later on. It is most probable that the two kings of Assyria did not carry away the nation in its entirety, which would not have been an easy task, even for a military power so great as Assyria, but they removed the influential part of Israel, just as the Babylonian king did later, on the occasion of the conquest of Judah. If so, the humbler classes of the ten tribes remained in Palestine under the supervision of the transplanted tribes from Babylon, Cutha, Ava, Hamath, and Sepharvaim,⁴ with whom they gradually became amalgamated.

The captives of Israel exiled beyond the Euphrates did not return as a whole to Palestine along with their brethren the captives of Judah; at least there is no mention made of this event in the documents at our disposal. Ezra and Nehemiah give the enumeration only of "the children of the

¹ II Kings xv. 29.

² I. v. 26.

³ II Kings xvii. 6; xviii. 11.

⁴ *Ib.* xviii. 24.

province of Judah, that went up out of the captivity, of those which had been carried away, whom Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon had carried away unto Babylon, and came again unto Jerusalem and Judah, every one unto his city."¹ We have seen that the author of Chronicles, a contemporary of Ezra, says that the captives of Israel are "up to this day" in the lands of their transportation. Such also was the tradition in the time of Josephus, who wrote after the destruction of the second Temple. He says,² in speaking of the letters of Artaxerxes to Ezra, granting permission to the Jews to return to Jerusalem:—"So he (Ezra) read the epistle at Babylon to those Jews that were there, but he kept the epistle itself, and sent a copy of it to all those of his own nation that were in Media; and when these Jews had understood what piety the king had towards God and what kindness he had for Ezra, they were all greatly pleased; nay, many of them took their effects with them, and came to Babylon, as very desirous of going down to Jerusalem, but then the entire body of the people of Israel remained in that country; wherefore there are but two tribes in Asia and Europe subject to the Romans, while the ten tribes are beyond Euphrates till now, and are an immense multitude, and not to be estimated by numbers." It is curious to mention that later books like the book of Esther refer to countries of the Israelitish captivity, and the same is partly the case with the book of Tobit; Tobit himself being of the tribe of Naphtali. We understand from this that it was pleasant to the Jews to have news of their distant and almost lost brethren. Indeed, the fifth vision of the Apocryphal Esdras³ concerns amongst other things the ten tribes, where we read as follows: "And whereas thou sawest that he gathered another peaceable multitude unto him; those are the ten tribes, which were carried away prisoners out of their own land in the time of Osea the king, whom Salmanassar, the king of Assyria, led away captive, and he carried them over the waters, and so came they into another land. But they took this counsel among themselves, that they would leave the multitude of the heathen, and go forth into a further country, where never mankind dwelt, That they might there keep their statutes, which they never kept in their own land. And they entered into Euphrates by the narrow passages of the river. For the most High then showed signs for them, and held still the flood, till they were passed over. For through that country there was a great

¹ Ezra ii. 1; Neh. vii. 6.² *Antiq.* XI. v. 2.³ IV. xiii. 39-45.

way to go, namely of a year and a half, and the same region is called Arsareth." This is the first legend concerning the direction that the ten tribes took. The author of the fourth book of Esdras, whilst copying verses of the Bible, adds details about the narrow passages of the Euphrates, and the duration of a year and a half for the journey to the region of Arsareth, which, as Dr. Schiller-Szinessy rightly suggests,¹ is nothing else but the words ארץ אחרת, the *other land* of verse 40.

In fact, the return of the ten tribes was one of the great promises of the Prophets, and the advent of the Messiah is therefore necessarily identified with the epoch of their redemption. We read in Isaiah:² "And it shall come to pass in that day, that the Lord shall set his hand again the second time to recover the remnant of His people which shall be left, from Assyria, and from Egypt, and from Pathros, and from Cush, and from Elam, and from Shinar, and from Hamath, and from the islands of the sea. And He shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth." Jeremiah breathes a similar aspiration:³ "Thus saith the Lord, Sing with gladness for Jacob, and shout among the head of the nations; publish ye, praise ye, and say, O Lord, save Thy people, the remnant of Israel. Behold, I will bring them from the north country, and gather them from the coasts of the earth . . . a great company shall return thither. They shall come with weeping, and with supplications will I lead them. I will cause them to walk by the rivers of waters in a straight way, wherein they shall not stumble, for I am a father to Israel, and Ephraim is my firstborn." The great Prophet of the Exile reiterates the promise of the redemption of all Israel in the following passages:⁴—"Thus saith the Lord, In an acceptable time have I heard thee, and in a day of salvation have I helped thee, and I will preserve thee, and give thee for a covenant of the people, to establish the earth, to cause to inherit the desolate inheritance." "Behold, these shall come from far: and, lo, these from the north and from the west, and these from the land of Sinim." And Ezekiel expresses himself in much stronger terms:⁵ "The word of the Lord came again unto me, saying, Moreover, thou son of man, take thee one stick, and write upon it, For Judah, and for the children of Israel his companions. Then take another

¹ *The Journal of Philology*, vol. iii. (1871), p. 114.

² xi. 11.

³ xxxi. 7.

⁴ Isaiah xlix. 8.

⁵ xxxvii. 15.

stick, and write upon it, For Joseph, the stick of Ephraim, and for all the house of Israel his companions: and join them one to another into one stick; and they shall become one in thine hand. And when the children of thy people shall speak unto thee, saying, Wilt thou not shew us what thou meanest by these? say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I will take the stick of Joseph which is in the hand of Ephraim, and the tribes of Israel his fellows, and will put them with him, even with the stick of Judah, and make them one stick, and they shall be one in mine hand . . . Behold, I will take the children of Israel from among the heathen, whither they be gone, and will gather them on every side, and bring them into their own land." In the last chapter the prophet makes a distribution of the Holy Land amongst the twelve tribes.

That the hope of the return of the Ten Tribes with the Messiah did not cease amongst the Jews during the time of the second Temple, an epoch of which we possess very few documents, may be concluded, not only from apocryphal books (the Apocrypha as well as the *Agadah* representing the ideas current amongst the Jewish people, whilst the *Halakah*, or ritual discussion, represents the views of the schools only), but also from the New Testament writings. St. Paul is reported to have said:¹ "And now I stand and am judged for the hope of the promise made of God unto our fathers. Unto which promise our twelve tribes, instantly serving God day and night, hope to come. For which hope's sake, King Agrippa, I am accused of the Jews." St. James addresses his Epistle to "the twelve tribes which are scattered abroad." Finally, in the Revelation,² which is now considered to be based upon a Jewish Apocalypse, twelve thousand of each of the Twelve Tribes of the children of Israel are sealed.

We come now to the literature composing the Talmud, many parts of which may be considered older than the New Testament writings, others contemporary, and the greater part much later. We must first consider the passages where the Rabbis identify the localities to which the Ten Tribes were carried away according to the books of Kings. R. Abba bar Kahna³ explains Halah by *Holcán*, probably in the

¹ Acts xxvi. 6.

² Ch. vii.

³ *La Géographie du Talmud*, p. 372. See, however, Dr. A. Berliner's *Beiträge zur Geographie und Ethnographie Babylonien's im Talmud und Midraschim*, p. 17, and Professor M. J. de Goeje's excellent article: *Zur historischen Geographie Babylonien's in the Zeitschrift der deutsch-morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Bd. xxxix., p. 1, seq. See also Dr. Hamburger's *Real-Encyclopaedie für Bibel und Talmud*, Abth. II., p. 1282.

neighbourhood of Nehawend; Habor is identified with *Adiabene*; the river of Gozan is explained by *Ginzak*, probably *Gazaca*, in Media. It is curious to mention that R. Aqiba, whose opinion, as we shall afterwards mention, was that the Ten Tribes will never return, visited this last town, and found its inhabitants so ignorant, that the history of the flood and of Job, which R. Aqiba narrated for their edification, was quite new to them. The great doctor of the Mishnah would find similar ignorance in more than one Jewish congregation in our own day, but at that time it was astonishing, and the Jews of *Gazaca* may have belonged to the Ten Tribes who had never heard of the Law; and if so, this is a strong argument against an early composition of Genesis and Job. The cities of the Medes are identified with *Hamadan*, which is usually taken as *Ecbatana*, the summer residence of the Persian kings. Others identify them with *Nehawend*, situated south of *Hamadan*. *Ilu*, a Babylonian doctor, takes Media in its greatest extent, reaching to the Caspian Sea. He counts among the cities of the Medes, *Kherak*, probably identical with the ancient *Charax*, and *Moshkhi*, which seems to be the same as the mountain of the *Moschi*, in Colchis and Iberia. The present Jews at *Hamadan*, as far as we know, are strict Rabbaites, and scarcely descendants of the Ten Tribes. Neither can we agree with the statement that the Greek Jews in Pontus and Cappadocia, who were more easily converted than those in Palestine, Syria, and Europe, belonged to the Ten Tribes; certainly, St. Paul, who sat at Gamaliel's feet, according to the Acts of the Apostles,¹ was a Rabbaites.

The following passage² is the only possible indication of the existence of a remnant of the Ten Tribes in Media, and the adjacent provinces. In order to express the purity of Jewish families in Babylonia, the Talmud says, "Babylon is healthy, Mesa dead, Media ill; Elam (and Gabai) near to die." Of course this is a playing upon words, but the meaning is that, in the Provinces of Mesene, Media, Susiana, and Gabene, the families were much intermixed, possibly with descendants of the Ten Tribes. But if that had been certain, and in the mind of the Talmudic doctors, they would have distinctly said as much. As they did not do so, we may assume that no community of the remnant of the Ten Tribes was known to the Rabbis who lived near the Median provinces, some of whom, indeed, visited the country, whilst others, like Nahum the Median—mentioned even in the Mishnah—must have been natives of it; and had there been

¹ xxii. 3.

² *La Géographie du Talmud*, p. 324.

any peculiarity in the Jewish rites in use there, the fact would have been reported in the schools, and discussed.

The other Talmudic sayings concerning the Ten Tribes are of a rather confused character, which proves again that no definite knowledge of the whereabouts of the Ten Tribes was possessed by the Rabbis. Let us begin with the oldest book of the Talmudic literature. According to the Sifra,¹ R. Aqiba said that the passage:² "And ye shall perish among the heathen," referred to the tribes who were exiled to Media; others (the Rabbis) say that the word *אכר* does not mean "perish," but to be "exiled," *i.e.*, with a hope of returning. According to the Mishnah,³ R. Aqiba said: "As this day goes and returns not, so also they (the Ten Tribes) have gone and will not return"; R. Eliezer, on the other hand, explains it in the following manner: "As the day is sometimes dark and then bright, so the Ten Tribes, with whom is darkness, will see light in future time." Again, the Midrash Rabbah⁴ mentions that "the Ten Tribes wandered into exile on the other side of the river Sambatyon, but the tribes of Judah and Benjamin are scattered throughout all lands." The river Sambatyon is itself as mysterious as the existence of the Ten Tribes. It would be lost time, we think, to trouble ourselves about the identification of this stream. The legend concerning it is that its waters run regularly on week days, but rest completely on the Sabbath.⁵ Pliny agrees with the Midrash, or perhaps the Midrash with Pliny. Josephus, on the contrary, writes that the Sabbatical river is dry all the week, but runs on the Sabbath-day. The Mahomedans, to this day, affirm the same of the *Nahr-al-Arus*, between Arka and Raphanea; modern travellers report that this river runs every third day. Anyhow, later on, we shall find the Sambatyon in close connection with the reported dwelling-places of portions of the Ten Tribes.

Still more mysterious is the following passage of the Palestinian Talmud:⁶ "R. Berechiah and R. Helbo, in the name of R. Samuel ben Nahman, say, Israel wandered into exile in three divisions; the one to the other side of the Sambatyon, another to Daphne in Antiochia, and the third was covered by the cloud which descended upon them. Like them, the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half of Manasseh wandered into three lands of exile, as it is written,⁷ 'Thou hast walked

¹ Ed. Weiss, section *בְּחֻקֹּתַי*, ch. 8 (fol. 112b).

² Lev. xxvi. 38.

³ *Sanhedrin* x. 3.

⁴ Gen. lxxiii.

⁵ *La Géographie du Talmud*, p. 33.

⁶ *Sanhedrin* x. 6 (fol. 29a).

⁷ Ezek. xxiii. 31.

in the way of thy sister.' And at the time of their return they will come back out of the three lands of exile, as it is written,¹ 'That thou mayest say to the prisoners, Go forth,' which is said to those on the other side of the river Sambatyon; 'to them that are in darkness, Show yourselves,' which is said to those who are covered in the cloud; 'They shall feed in the ways, and their pastures shall be in all high places,' which is said of those who were exiled to Daphne in Antiochia." In the *Pesikotho Rabbathi*² this passage reads as follows: "The Ten Tribes were exiled into three parts; the one went to the Sambatyon, the other inside [on the other side?] of the Sambatyon, and the third to Daphne of Riblathah, where it was swallowed (amalgamated). To those on the Sambatyon the words, 'That thou mayest say to the prisoners, Go forth,' is applied; 'To them that are in darkness, show yourselves,' is said of those who are on the other side of the Sambatyon; and for those who are swallowed in Riblathah, God (the Holy One be blessed) will make subterranean passages until they arrive at the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem; here God will stand upon the mount, which will split, and they will come out of it, as it is written in Zechariah xiv. 4." There are variations. Instead of "the cloud which covers one part of the exiles," we read elsewhere, "inside of the cloud of darkness;" and in another version, "inside the dark mountains."³ The dark mountains represent Africa, which Alexander the Great, according to a Talmudic legend, had to pass in order to go to Carthage.⁴ Of the Sambatyon we have already spoken. All these sayings prove that the dwelling of the Ten Tribes was completely unknown to the Talmudists and Agadic writers, although, as we have seen, Median rabbis are mentioned in the Talmud. The difference between R. Aqiba, who said that the Ten Tribes were completely lost, and will never return, and R. Eliezer, who asserted the contrary, arose from the fact that Aqiba believed Bar-Cochebas to be the Messiah. Now the Messiah, according to the Prophet, would gather together the whole nation of Israel, including the Ten Tribes; but Bar-Cochebas was not able to do so. Hence Aqiba was obliged to give up the Ten Tribes altogether. But in fact, as we shall see, the hope of the return of the Ten Tribes has never ceased amongst the Jews in exile; this hope has been connected with every Messianic rising.

¹ Isaiah xlix. 9.

² Ch. 31, Ed. Friedmann, 147a.

³ See Friedmann's excellent notes on this passage.

⁴ *La Géographie du Talmud*, p. 404.

We have now exhausted the information found in the Talmudic literature concerning the Ten Tribes. But before continuing our subject with the opinions of the post-Talmudic time and the middle ages, we must say a word about the settlements of the Jews which are not so well known as those in Babylonia, Persia, Syria, Asia Minor, and the Greek-speaking countries: in Europe, viz., Italy (and chiefly Rome), Spain, France, and Germany; in Africa, viz., Egypt, Libya, Tunis, and Morocco, settlements which we shall have to mention in a subsequent article.

It is stated that in the year 4250 A.M. (490 of the common era), a certain Joseph Rabban landed with many Jewish families on the coast of Malabar, where they were well received by the King Airvi Brahmin, who granted them portions of land, and allowed them to live according to their own laws and to be ruled by their own chiefs. The first of these chiefs was Joseph Rabban himself. It is most likely that this emigration from Babylonia or Persia took place in consequence of the persecution of King Firuz, about 480, who not only acted according to the vexatious laws of his predecessors, but, like Hadrian after the war of Bar-Cochebas, forced the younger generation to adopt the worship of the Magi. He is styled in the Babylonian Talmud "Firuz the Wicked," like Hadrian in Palestine. Prof. Graetz mentions that the immigrants under Joseph found Jews already settled in Malabar, who had come there as early as the year 231, and from this period Prof. Graetz is inclined to date Jewish colonisation in China. There is, however, no proof of such an early settlement of Jews in countries of the far East. Joseph Rabban enjoyed princely privileges, which became hereditary in his family. It is believed that he was succeeded by seventy-two rulers, till at last serious disputes arose, in consequence of which many Jews were killed, the town of Carangaron destroyed, and the survivors settled at Mattachery (a town near Cochin), which received the name of "Jewish town." The privileges accorded by King Airvi were engraved on a brass-plate in Indian characters, with a Hebrew translation of a peculiar style, of which a facsimile, sent to Europe by Buchanan in the year 1807, can be seen in the library of the University of Cambridge.¹ Most probably the Jewish settlers of white colour had native slaves, whom they converted to Judaism. And, indeed, up to the present time there exist in Cochin both black and white Jews, the latter

¹ See Cl. Buchanan's *Christian Researches in Asia*, 5th. ed. (1819), p. 224, and Graetz, *Geschichte den Juden*, IV., p. 405 (2nd ed.).

of whom call themselves Jerusalem Jews. They still keep aloof from one another, the white considering themselves the superior race. The black Jews know, indeed, little of their religion; they have scanty copies of the Law, and know no history of their race. They now receive instruction in the Jewish religion and the Hebrew language from teachers sent out from Europe. What concerns us most is, that the white Jews believe that they came there at the time of Salmanasser and that they are descendants of the Ten Tribes. They identify the biblical Gozan with the Ganges, and believe the wonderful river Sambatyon to be in the neighbourhood of Calicut (Calcutta). At the present time the Jews in these countries, except the Bani Israel, who are just beginning to be taught the Rabbinical ceremonies and the Hebrew language, follow the Rabbinical creed. The same is the case with the Jewish colonies in China,¹ to judge from their copies of the Law, which are written according to the Rabbinical precepts. They have, however, by their complete isolation, entirely forgotten the Hebrew language, and even the Hebrew characters. We may observe the same to be the case with the Samaritans at Nablus, and the Copts in Egypt, where only a few priests can read the ancient characters of the language of their race.

The Jewish colonists of Borion, a town in Mauritania (Morocco), had a legend that they settled there in the time of Solomon, and that he in person built their synagogue. It was converted into a church by the Emperor Justinian in the sixth century. Indeed, a Hebrew inscription in square character was sometimes shown at Saguriah (province of Fez), in which it is said: "Up to this point, I Joab have pursued the Philistines."² At present, all the Jews in the *Magreb* (Algeria, Tunis, and Morocco), are Rabbanites; and even the fable of the early Jews in the Sahara is now cleared up by the traveller Mordecai Abi Seroor.³

Another early settlement of the Jews in Arabia is reported by Arabic historians.⁴ According to some of them, Israelites had settled in the town of Yathrib (called later Medinah), and in the country of Haibar (several days' journey north of Yathrib), when they were sent by Joshua to fight against the Amalekites. According to others, the immigration of the Israelites into these countries took place under King Saul,

¹ See A. Finn, *The Orphan Colony in China*. See, however, the strange article on "the Jews of the Chinese Empire," by the Rev. Alfred Kingsley Glover, in the American monthly *Menorah*, V., p. 10, *seq.*

² *Hal-Lebanon* (Heb. Period.), III. p. 110. ³ *Les Doggatoun*, Paris, 1880.

⁴ Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, VI., p. 68 (2nd ed.).

when some of them fell into disgrace, and were forced to leave Palestine, for sparing the young and handsome son of the King of Amalek. It is further reported that many settled in North Arabia at the time when David fled there from his rebellious son. It is certain that Jews were settled in North and South Arabia during the last years of the second Temple, and that in the time of Mohammed they were powerful, more especially in the country of Haibar. The mediæval Jews of Arabia had a tradition from their ancestors, that a great number of them took refuge in North Arabia at the time of the destruction of the Temple of Nebuchadnezzar. The Jews of Haibar even pretended to be descendants of the Rechabites, who, at the command of their ancestor, Jonadab son of Rechab, carried on their Nazarite life after the destruction of the first Temple, until they came to Haibar, a country rich in palm-trees and corn. None of these legends are mentioned in the Talmud, where we find R. Levi and other Rabbis personally well acquainted with Arabia. We shall find later, that the legend of an early settlement at Haibar had its origin in the confusion of Haibar with Chabor, the land mentioned in the book of Kings as one of the places to which a part of the Ten Tribes was carried off by the king of Assyria. The Yemen Jews, with whom we are well acquainted from the time of Maimonides, had no tradition about their descent from the Ten Tribes.¹ The Jews in Arabia, north and south, so far as our knowledge goes, always observed Rabbinical laws, more or less strictly, according to the instruction they received from the Palestinian and Babylonian schools. From them Mohammed received his Biblical knowledge, and more especially the Agadic interpretation, of which he made so profuse a use in the Koran. But we shall find, in the course of this essay, that the Ten Tribes were believed in the Middle Ages to be in Arabia.

The Karaite Jews never asserted that they were descendants of the Ten Tribes; they are Jews, and merely dissentients from the Rabbinical teaching. The Khozars, in Derbend, Georgia, and Armenia, on the other hand, were converted to Judaism in the eighth century, and could not well be taken for sons of the Ten Tribes, although we do find in some accounts that they are so taken. It is on this ground that we mention them here. The Falashas, or the Jews in Abyssinia, according to their own tradition pretend to have come from Jerusalem with the Queen of Sheba on her

¹ For the Bibliography of the various settlements of the Jews, we refer the reader to the excellent article *Juifs*, by M. Loeb, in the *Dictionnaire Universel de Géographie*, by M. Vivien de Saint-Martin, Paris, 1884.

return from a visit to King Solomon. They know nothing of the Ten Tribes, but from the fact of their ceremonies being different from those of the Rabbanitic Jews, and their knowing no Hebrew at all, mediæval writers regarded them as descendants of the Ten Tribes.

Finally, we have to notice some traditions which have crept up within the last forty years, concerning the early settlement of the Jews in the Crimea, who are believed to have a connection with the Ten Tribes. In 1840 the famous forger the late Karaite Abraham Firkowitsch, asserted that he had discovered a Hebrew colophon at the end of a Pentateuch scroll, in a synagogue of Derbend, stating as follows: "I Judah, son of Moses, the punctuator Mizrahi (from the East land), son of Judah hag-Gibbor, of the tribe of Naphtali, of the family Shillem, who wandered into exile with the exiles who were carried away with Hoshea, king of Israel, together with the tribes of Simeon, Dan, and some families of the other tribes of Israel. The enemy Salmanasser carried them away from Samaria and the neighbouring towns to Halah, which is Bahlah; to Habor, which is Habul; to Hara, which is Herat; to Gozan, which is Gozna; the province where Pilneser carried captive the children of Reuben, Gad, and half of Manasseh he settled them there, and hence they were dispersed over the face of all the land of the East, up to Sinim. And when I (Judah) returned from my wandering in the land of their exile, and from my travelling in the land of their sojourn, in the land of Krim (Crimea), which is the dwelling-place of the seed of the families of Israel and Judah, driven out of Jerusalem; the latter came out to help their brethren of their towns during the fight for Samaria, when Gedaliah, son of the King Ahaz, was at the head of them. But all in vain, for their measure was full; Salmanasser captured them alive before he captured Samaria, and sent them captive to the interior of the towns of Media, in order to keep them far from their brethren. There they remained until the days of Cambyses, son of Cyrus (peace be with him!), who shewed them favour on the occasion when they, together with the Medes, armed themselves for war, being near to the land of the Shitim, in order to fight against the Queen Talmira, and to avenge on her the blood of her father. When they (Medes and Jews) got the better of her armies, they seized her alive, and brought her before Cambyses their king, who slew her for the blood of her father. When he took her land, they asked him to give it to them for a possession, which he granted to them, in putting governors over them. They then returned in peace. Israel and the Medes, who returned

from the war, took their wives, their children, and their possessions, and settled in the land of Chorshon (Chersonese), where Cyrus, his father, put up a monument for himself; at Solchat and On-Kat, which they had built, and called them Krim; at Sela-ha-Yehudim (rock of the Jews, or Tschufut Kaley), which they fortified; at the town of Sephorad, on the sea of Shitim. From here they row themselves and their cattle (Dr. Harkavy translates, 'they swim across with their cattle') to the great town Matarcha, where my father, one of the exiles under Titus, dwelt. When I arrived in my native town Shomchi, the residence of Darius the Mede in Shirwan, in the fifth year of the reign of the wicked Khosdori, the Persian, which is the year 1300 of our exile, I corrected this scroll for the master Mordecai the Haber (Rabbi), son of Simeon, who received the same title Haber. May God protect him! May he be worthy to read in it, he and his posterity in eternity! Good omen! Amen!"

It would be superfluous to say more than that: this document is a clumsy forgery, as is evident from the Hebrew style, the names of places, and the dates. This has been proved to certainty by Dr. Harkavy, to whose learned essay we must refer our readers.¹ The amplification of this colophon made by the late Firkowitsch in another colophon of the year 986, makes the forgery still more evident, if that be possible. At Madschalis Firkowitsch says he found, in a walled-up place, a scroll, which was at first believed to contain the Book of Esther. But after having cleaned the rotten and obliterated parchment, he found it to be the Derbend colophon, with the following introduction:—"I Joshua, son of Elijah, of the Karaites of the village Mandschlis (*sic*), when I came to the village Tag-Basar, which is near to Derbend, found with Mar Joseph, son of Bakhshi, a copy of the Diary of Judah, son of Moses Mizrahi, copied by Mar Abraham, son of Simhah Sephardi, from an old Pentateuch scroll at Hamadan. I made a copy of it in the year 5273 A.M. (1513), on the third of Siwan, the eve of the Pentecost." [Abraham says]: "I, a faithful Israelite, Abraham son of Mar Simhah, of the town Sepharad, which is situated in the kingdom of our brethren, the faithful proselytes the Khozars, in the year 1682 of our exile, which is the year 4746 of the Creation, according to the reckoning of our brethren, the Jews of the town of Matarcha, the time when the messengers came from the Prince Rosh Meshekh (Russian Moscow), from the town

¹ *Alt-jüdische Denkmäler aus der Krim* (Mémoires de l'Académie de St. Pétersbourg, 1876, vol. xxiv., No. 1.)

of Ziob (Kieff), to our master, David, the Khozaric prince, in order to investigate the [various] religions. [At that time] I was sent by him to the lands of Persia and Media, in order to acquire old copies of the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa for the Khozaric congregations. Having heard in Elam, which is Ispahan, that there is at Sushan (Susa), which is Hamadan, an old scroll, I went there, and it was shown to me by our brethren, the children of Israel, when the whole congregation was assembled. At the end of this scroll I found the Diary of Judah, the corrector (Maggiah, who possesses the art of writing scrolls). I was told there that Moses, the Nakdan (punctuator), father of this Judah, was the first who invented the vowel points and the accents, in order to facilitate for students the learning how to read the Scripture. Having entreated them to sell me this scroll, they refused; I therefore copied this diary word by word, since the relations of the corrector (Judah) were dear to me. I have added some explanations, known by me to be true, of some obscure words of Judah. May his merit protect me, and bring me back to my home living and in peace. Amen." Then follows the colophon of Judah, as given above, with the following additions and explanations. After the words "a monument,"¹ follow the words, "At Solchat, *Hebrew*, which they build; at On Khat, *Greek*, the ruins of which they restored, called it Krim . . .;" after "exiles under Titus,"² the second colophon has the following words: "These are our brethren, the Jews, the *élite* of the exiles of Jerusalem, whom Titus carried away at first to the Greek cities, to Pisantia (Byzantium) and the surrounding cities, and from where they spread up to the town Tirapez (Trebizond) and the sister congregations. This was in the time of Julian, Emperor of Pisantia, the friend of the Jews, and therefore they still speak Greek up to this day." At the end of the first colophon, after the words³ "may God protect him," the second adds: "that is to say, the *Habrut* of the men of the Mishnah and the Babylonian Talmud may he have the merit. . . ."

This second colophon was also minutely examined by Dr. Harkavy with the same result as the first, only that Firko-witsch showed himself in the latter more ignorant and more audacious than in the former.

However, we shall find that there is a late tradition that the Jews in the Caucasus are descendants of the Ten Tribes.

The chief intention of this last colophon was to show that

¹ Preceding page, line 3.

² *ib.*, line 10.

³ *ib.*, line 15.

Karaites were the inventors of the Masorah, the vowel points, and the accents. Unfortunately, the historian of the Jews, Professor Graetz, allowed himself to be taken in by this impudent forgery, and built this part of his history upon it.¹ In a new edition he will, we are confident, retract what he has said relating to the priority of the Karaites in the matter of the vowel points. The English translation, which is announced to be out soon, will, perhaps, appear before the third German edition. The era of the Captivity appears in this forged document for the first time, and use was then made of it for the famous Crimean epitaphs, of which the oldest begins with the forged date of 6 B.C., but is in reality of the twelfth century, as shown by Dr. Harkavy from Firkowitsch's note books.

It is worth while, in order to avoid misunderstanding by our silence concerning the *Bani Israel* in the Bombay Presidency, to mention this small and mysterious race, whose early history is as enigmatical as that of the Falashas and the Jews in China. These also probably came from Persia, and, like the Chinese Jewish colony, have forgotten, by isolation, the Hebrew language and the Jewish rites.

A. NEUBAUER.

¹ Vol. V., pp. 498 *seq.* (2nd ed.).
